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ABSTRACT

A critical review of traditional publications on the history of American education reveals an exclusion of the participation and contribution of blacks. This study covers the 20-year period during which the acquisition of an education was deemed by blacks as the most significant element for their survival as independent and productive citizens. Data for the study are gathered at national and state archives, research centers, and numerous predominantly black and white insitutions of higher education. A few of the topics of analysis are the extent to which the black man assisted in providing education for members of his race; the individuals and groups which provided education for the black adult and the methods utilized; the success of groups in opposition to the education of blacks; and the political, social, and economic reasons that generated efforts toward education of the black man. The data supports the conclusion that concerted efforts were made by blacks and benevolent whites to provide continuity in educational activities and ultimately to develop a viable education system. While education for black adults was initially rudimentary in nature, institutions of higher learning that were incipient during this period were invaluable to blacks in their acquisition of technical skills. (Author/KSM)

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 2-B-049
Grant No. OEG-5-72-0049

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A STUDY OF THE TYPES OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN AMERICA FOR THE BLACK MAN 1850-1920

June 1973

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

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The Ohio State University Research Foundation
Columbus, Ohio

June 1973

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U.S. Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare

National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

ABSTRACT

A critical review of the traditional publications on the History of American Education will no doubt immediately reveal one of their shortcomings; i.e., the exclusion of minorities, blacks in particular. Notwithstanding their participation and contributions in the educational exterprise, historians have systematically overlooked blacks. If the History of American Education is to be truly illuminated with authenticity, it is incumbent upon those persons who purport to be historians to ensure that all ethnic groups are included.

This study covers a 20-year period, 1860-1880. During this period the acquisition of an education was deemed by blacks as the most significant element for their survival as independent and productive citizens. Concerted efforts were made by blacks and benevolent whites to provide continuity in educational activities and ultimately to develop a viable education system. Education for black adults was initially rudimentary in nature. However, institutions of higher learning that were incipient during this period were invaluable to blacks in their acquisition of technical skills.

Data for this study were gathered at national and state archives, research centers and numerous predominantly black and white institutions of higher education. Also, knowledgeable black historians were consulted.

It is envisaged that the content of this treatise will be of assistance to the entire society in the organization of a total history of American education.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Securing a definition of adult education that is acceptable to all adult educators is an arduous, if not impossible, task. Occasional synomymous terms such as career education, vocational education, and continuing education increase the complexities of this dilemma, thus reducing the chance of reaching a national reconciliation in the near future. In order to provide continuity of thought for the purpose of this paper, the principal investigator has adopted the definition of a well-known adult educator, Cyril O. Houle:[1]

> The process by which men and women (alone or in groups, or in intellectual settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skills, their knowledge, or their sensitiveness. Any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways.

The period 1860 through 1880 represents a traumatic, yet extremely significant, period in American history for the black man regarding his role as a slave and his educational preparation for his role as an enfranchised man.

During the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period, blacks collaborated with many benevolent individuals and organizations to provide for their educational and social enlightenment. Mastering the intricacies of education was viewed by blacks as the most significant factor in becoming economically independent and self-surviving.

Schools were open to which there was a general rush by blacks to quench their thirst for knowledge. The initially established schools were indeed primitive. However, this was not a deterrent to aged men and women who sat far into the night trying to master the rudiments of education. Many ecumenical philanthropic organizations and groups provided yeoman service in the establishment of educational facilities for blacks which were established in any available locations. Many were started in churches to provide an opportunity for blacks to learn to read the Bible.

The most enduring contribution of benevolent individuals, groups and organizations was the establishment of schools for higher education for the black man. Fisk, Howard, Tuskegee, and many other institutions has their inception during this period. Such an ardent desire for knowledge was not and possible will never be witnessed anywhere else in American history.

When the historian surveys the history of adult education for blacks in America, his efforts shortly bring him to the work of Carter G. Woodson, Clinton H. Gratton, Malcolm Knowles, and a few other local studies. Aside from these general historical studies, very little has been written about the subject.

Woodson[2] in his study of The Education of the Negro in the U.S. Prior to 1861, concentrated on the broad scope of education. He indicated that there were brief evidences of adult education prior to the Civil War.

Grattan[3] in his book, In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education covered the Western European background from primitive man to the industrial revolution and also American efforts in adult education. Although he failed to devote any attention to the black man in this document, he maintains that adult education has been going on since the beginning of history.

Knowles[4] in his book, The Adult Education Movement in the U.S. covered the history of adult education from colonial days to 1962. This professional adult educator shows the significance of adult education in the development of a national culture, as well as the influence on adult trends by our society. However, he almost completely overlooked the contributions of the black man and the adult education activities that were provided for his intellectual growth.

This component of American history has been somewhat overlooked by historians. The full extent of the diffusion of education for the black man in America during this period from 1860-1880 is not known. The purpose of this treatise is to illuminate this 20-year period as it relates to the types of adult education for the black man. It focuses primarily on the types of educational activities that were provided the black adult. No attempt is being made to do a total historical study of this period. As far as the investigator was able to discern, this is the first attempt by anyone to do an in-depth study of the types of adult education for the black adult during the period from 1860-1880.

II. PROCEDURE

The following procedure was used to identify and describe the several types of adult education for the black adult which arose in America from 1860 through 1880, as well as the economic, psychological, social, and political conditions which generated them.

A. ASSUMPTIONS

In the conceptualization of this study, three global assumptions were made.

1. Many black and white individuals and organizations provided adult education activities for the uplift of the black man during the 20-year period from 1860 to 1880.

2. Individuals and organizations utilized a multitude of approaches in their attempt to instruct black adults in their educational endeavors.

3. The desire by blacks to acquire an education was greater during this period than any other period in American history.

B. QUESTIONS

The objective of this report was to investigate the following questions:

1. To what extent did black men assist in providing education for members of their race?

2. Who were the individuals, societies, and commissions that provided education for the black adult?

3. What methods of instruction were utilized by these individuals, societies, and commissions?

4. To what extent did the groups in opposition to the education of blacks succeed?

5. What were the political, social, and econ mic reasons that generated efforts to educate the black man and then the discontinuation of those efforts?

6. What types of adult education curricula did the institutions of higher education for the black man provide?

7. Was there a national systematic effort to enlighten the black man? What was the attitude of the government?

8. What role did the agricultural societies play in the education of the black man?

9. Was there educational activities provided for the physically handicapped black man, such as the deaf, mute, and blind?

10. What type of mass education was provided; e.g., newspapers, pamphlets, and conventions?

C. INQUIRIES

An initial inquiry was sent to 75 institutions and agencies requesting information concerning adult education for the black man during the aforementioned period. Sixty-eight responses were received (90%) which include primary and secondary sources and/or direction as to where pertinent information could be found.

D. PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

Collection of data were studied at the following institutions:

1. Institutions of Higher Education

a. Arkansas A.M. & N. College	Pine Bluff, Arkansas
b. Atlanta University	Atlanta, Georgia
c. Central State University	Wilberforce, Ohio
d. Clark College	Atlanta, Georgia
e. Dillard University	New Orleans, Louisiana
f. Fisk University	Nashville, Tennessee
g. Howard University	Washington D.C.
h. Morehouse College	Atlanta, Georgia
i. The Ohio State University	Columbus, Ohio
j. Philander Smith College	Little Rock, Arkansas
k. Roosevelt University	Chicago, Illinois
l. Rust College	Holly Spring, Mississippi
m. Spellman College	Atlanta, Georgia
n. Tennessee State University	Nashville, Tennessee
o. Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee, Alabama
p. University of California at Los Angeles	Los Angeles, California
q. Wilberforce University	Wilberforce, Ohio
r. Xavier University	New Orleans, Louisiana

2. Research Organizations

a. Amistad Research Center	New Orleans, Louisiana
b. Educational Resources Information Center	Columbus, Ohio

3. Archives

a. National Archives and Records Service	Washington, D.C.
b. Ohio State Archives	Columbus, Ohio

4. Libraries

a. Bexley Public Library	Bexley, Ohio
b. Chicago Public Library	Chicago, Illinois

c.	Columbus Public Library	Columbus, Ohio
d.	Crossett Public Library	Crossett, Arkansas
e.	Los Angeles Public Library	Los Angeles, California
f.	Martin Luther King Library	Columbus, Ohio
e.	U.S. Library of Congress	Washington, D.C.

E. CONSULTANTS

Individuals considered knowledgeable in the area of Negro History were consulted.

1. Dr. Henry Bullock, former professor at Texas Southern University and the University of Texas at Austin and author of many books relating to black history.

2. Dr. Dorothy Porter, curator of the Morland Room, Howard University.

3. Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Professor at Morgan State University and author of many books relating to black history.

4. Dr. Charles Wesley, former President of Central State University and editor of the Negro History Bulletin.

5. Mr. Vincent Harding, Institute of Black World, Atlanta, Georgia.

F. TECHNIQUE

Data retrieval, a technique used in historical research was used in this study. Its purpose was to gather information from primary and secondary sources. A secondary source is one or more times removed from the original observation (a report from a second-hand witness or a book which summarizes the contents of original reports). A primary source is one which has direct access to an original observation (an original manuscript or a report from an eye witness). The investigator examined and synthesized documents, and analyzed and evaluated the content of a number of primary and secondary sources in order to accomplish the objeetive of this study.

III. EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF BENEVOLENT INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETIES

During the period of 1860-1880 there were approximately 79 main philanthropic organizations and freedmen's aid societies in America, Europe, and Great Britian supporting the total effort to uplift black man.[5] Thirty-nine of these organizations had their headquarters in the North, seven in the South, and twelve in Great Britian and other countries; twenty-one had no designated headquarters. Receipts of 16 of these organizations during the period 1862 to 1874 amounted to $3,933,278.[6] Blacks contributed approximately $500,000 to the education of their own people.[6]

TABLE I. SOCIETIES AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER ENGAGED IN FREEDMEN'S AID[7]

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
American Baptist Home Missionary Association	. . . . .	1863
American Bible Society	New York	. . .
American Colonization Society	. . . . .	. . .
African Civilization Society	. . . . .	1864
African Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society	Brooklyn	1864
American Freewill Baptist Association	. . . . .	1864
American Freedmen's Aid Commission	New York	1865
American Freedmen's Aid Union	. . . . .	1865
American Freedmen's and Union Commission	. . . . .	1865
The American Baptist Home Mission Society	. . . . .	1832
American Home Missionary Society	. . . . .	1867
American Missionary Association	New York	1846
American Tract Society	. . . . .	. . .
American Union Commission	. . . . .	. . .
Arkansas Relief Committee	Little Rock	. . .
Auxilary to the New England Society	Warrenton, Va.	. . .
Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People	Baltimore	1864
Benezet Freedmen's Relief Association	Philadelphia	1867
Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association	Birminham, England	1865
Boston Educational Commission	Boston	1862
British and Foreign Freedmen's Aid Society	London	1866
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands	Washington	1865
Cincinnati Contraband Relief Association	Cincinnati	1862
Cleveland Aid Commission	Cleveland	1864
Committee for Aid to the Freedmen of the West	. . . . .	1863
Contraband Relief Society	St. Louis	1863
Darlington Committee	England	1865
Delaware Association for the Education and Moral Improvement of the Colored People	. . . . .	1866

TABLE I. -- Continued

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	. . . . .	1866
Freedmen's Mutual Improvement Society	Charlottesville, Va.	1866
Freewill Baptist Church, Home Missionary Society	Dover, N.H.	. . .
Friend's Colored Relief Association of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	1864
Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen	. . . . .	. . .
Friends' Association in Aid of Freedmen	Baltimore	1865
Friends Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedom	Philadelphia	1863
Friends' Central Relief Committee	England	1865
Georgia Equal Rights Association	Georgia	1866
Georgia State Educational Association	Georgia	. . .
Hicksite Friends' Association	Philadelphia	1865
Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends	. . . . .	1865
Ladies Patriotic Association	. . . . .	1865
Leicester Freedmen's Aid Association	Leed, England	1865
Leicester Freedmen's Aid Society	Leicester, England	1865
Lineda National Temperance Association	. . . . .	1867
London Freedmen's Relief Association	London	1863
Manchester Association	Manchester, England	1865
Methodist Church, Freedmen's Aid Society	. . . . .	1866
Massachusetts Episcopal Association for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge Among the Freedmen and Other Colored Persons of the South and Southwest	Boston	1865
Nashville Refugees Aid Society	Nashville	. . .
National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children	Washington	1863
National Committee of British Freedmen's Aid Societies	London	1865

TABLE I. -- Continued

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia	Washington	1862
National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York	Washington	1862
New England Freedmen's Aid Society	Boston	1862
New England Refugees' Aid Society	. . . . .	. . .
New England Yearly Meeting of Friends	New Bedford, Mass.	1864
New Hampshire Freedmen's Relief Association	Concord	1863
Northhampton Association	Northhampton, England	1865
Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission	Chicago	1863
Orthodox Friends Association	Philadelphia	1865
Presbyterian Church, General Committee on Freedmen	. . . . .	1865
Presbyterian Church, Committee of Home Missions	. . . . .	1873
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association	Philadelphia	1862
Pittsburg Freedmen's Relief Association	Pittsburg	1864
Port Royal Relief Committee	Philadelphia	1862
Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission	New York	1865
Reformed Presbyterian Board of Missions	. . . . .	1864
Savannah Educational Association	Savannah	1864
Soldiers' Memorial Society	Boston	1864
Southern Famine Relief Committee	Alabama	. . .
Union and Emancipation Society	Manchester, England	. . .
United Presbyterians	. . . . .	. . .
United States Christian Commission	. . . . .	. . .
United States Commission for the Relief of the National Freedmen	Washington	1863
United States Sanitary Commission	. . . . .	1861
United Western Freedmen's Aid Commission	. . . . .	1865
Washington Freedmen's Society	Washington	1864
Western Freedmen's Aid Commission	Cincinnati	1862
Western Sanitary Commission	. . . . .	. . .
Women's Aid Association	Philadelphia	1865
Workmen's Auxiliary of the Midland Association	England	1865

The best known of all organizations and societies that did educational work among the freedmen are perhaps The American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church. The American Baptist Home Mission Society, The African Methodist Episcopal Church Society, and The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

From its inception, The American Missionary Association was actively engaged in efforts to totally liberate the black man. It advocated the prohibition of slavery, and provided relief services for the black man during and immediately after the Civil War. This organization also set up institutions at strategic points throughout the south for blacks to acquire educational skills. By 1861, American Missionary Association representatives were giving both religious and secular instructions and 1,8000 blacks were under their tutelage. American Missionary Association representatives which included teachers and missionaries totaled 250 in 1864 and 320 in 1865.[8]

This organization is credited with setting up numerous institutions of higher learning for blacks. Berea College in Kentucky, its oldest school, was an interracial institution. Perhaps the best known and most successful facilities developed by this Association are Fisk University, Atlanta University, and Hampton Institute.

Blacks who sought refuge behind the Union lines during the Civil War were provided educational instructions by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Some of the activities are noted by Benjamin Brawley:

> The first step of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for refugees who came into the line of the Union Army was taken in January, 1862, and the first teachers were appointed in June of that year. Whenever they could do so, the teachers brought together black preachers for instruction in the rudiments of education and for the organization of churches, associations and conventions.[9]

The practice of building Minister's Institutes was incorporated into this organization's effort to educate the black adult. These institutes provided groups of uneducated ministers and deacons an opportunity to study fundamental doctrines for a period of about ten days. Not only were faculty provided to conduct an institute for a week or two, but a search was made in the surrounding towns to recruit blacks to attend. Once an individual promisted to cooperate, he would be transported to the institute, found a home in case the distance forbade daily travel, and was returned home upon the termination of the institute. In 1880 it was reported that 1,119 ministers and deacons had participated in 33 institutes, and every southern state had been reached with one or more institutes of about three days duration.[10]

TABLE II. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM GROWTH OF THE SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH FROM 1872 TO 1880[11]

Location	School	Teachers		Students		Students for Ministry	
		1872	1877	1872	1877	1872	1877
Washington, D.C.	Wayland Seminary	3	3	85	93	. .	. .
Richmond, Va.	Richmond Institute	5	4	135	95	. .	62
Raleigh, N.C.	Shaw Institute	4	11	180	240	. .	47
Columbia, S.C.	Bennedict Institute	1	4	61	101	. .	14
Augusta, Ga.	Augusta Institute	2	4	44	84	. .	51
New Orleans, La.	Leland University	2	9	230	129	. .	22
Nashville, Tenn.	Nashville Institute	3	6	96	129	. .	. .

To further meet the demand for the education of blacks, institutions of higher learning were developed which include Virginia Union, Bishop College, Benedict College, and Shaw University. The same eagerness exhibited by all involved in the formulation of American Missionary Association schools prevailed in the conceptualization and implementation of educational ventures by the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

The history of the origin of The African Methodist Episcopal Church Society emanated from the dissatisfaction of the black Methodist at the treatment accorded by their white brethren. It also represented a revolt against segregation and discrimination in the Methodist Church.[12] The Reverend Richard Allen was the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and was a perennial leader of the vanguard protesting discriminatory practices by the Methodist Church.

In 1856 the A.M.E. Church collaborated with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the establishment of a Union Seminary in Wilberforce, Ohio, which in 1863 became sole property of the A.M.E. Church. This institution was named in honor of an English abolitionist and philanthropist, William Wilberforce.

The history of the origin of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is almost a replication of the denomination just discussed. It emanated from the dissatisfaction of the black Methodists at the treatment perpetrated against them by their white brethren. It also represented a revolt against the spirit of segregation and discrimination which became quite apparent toward the beginning of the 19th century.

Those denominations that made up this society promoted a number of educational institutions after the Civil War. Most of the institutions of higher learning initially provided only rudimentary type educational activities to young black adults. These institutions include Livingston College, Wilberforce University, and Lane College.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by Northern Methodists in 1866. Its purpose was primarily missionary. The policy of the society was to meet the educational needs of blacks by promoting elementary education and to train teachers and preachers with the minimum equipment necessary to take up the task of educating and evangelizing the masses.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the North and South were at odds with each other on the moral issues of slavery which ultimately led to their separation. Upon the cessation of hostilities, church leaders concluded that the most appropriate way to assist the millions of blacks recently emancipated in their uplift was to establish a separate organization for that purpose. The Freedmen's Aid Society was formulated as an outgrowth of that decision.

By and large, the religion of blacks was the religion of their masters during slavery. Through religious teachings masters attempted to justify slavery. "Servants be obedient unto your masters," was to be interpreted by slaves to continue their involuntary servitude. The Methodist Church in the North took exception to this and viewed the Civil War and its ramifications as the working of the "omnipotent one."

By 1869, in addition to lower schools, the Society had established six colleges and normal schools, two Biblical Institutes, and one orphanage. The schools designated as colleges for young adults included Walden University, Clark College, Claflin University, and Rust College.

The supported provided by blacks in the promotion of these schools is indicative of their ambition to help themselves in attaining intellectual competencies.

> They have aided liberally in building churches, erecting schoolhouses, sustaining teachers, supporting the aged, providing homes. It is wonderful with what clearness they recognize the importance of schools and churches to their highest usefulness and happiness. The black people during the past year have contributed fourteen thousand dollars to the schools under our care, and the next year they will, without doubt, double the amount. They board the teachers and meet the incidential expenses of the school, while the Society pays the salary and traveling expenses; so that nearly one-half of the cost is sustained by them and in some instances nearly two-thirds of it.[13]

The American Missionary Association, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the African Methodist Episcopal Church Society, and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church all responded with a supply of teachers and revenue for the overall uplift of the black adult. The educational work started by them continued to grow under their direction, and a large number of educational institutions had their inception during this period.

IV. U.S. GOVERNMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

A. PORT ROYAL EXPERIMENT

The earliest attempt to deal with free black adults in the lower South perhaps was in the area of Port Royal, South Carolina. A naval expedition with an army of approximately 14,000 set out to capture the port in October, 1861. Residents evacuated inland upon hearing news of the expedition, thus opening up the entire region of the Sea Islands to Union troops. Many acres of almost mature cotton were left standing in the fields and about 40,000 slaves were abandoned by plantation owners.

General Rufus B. Saxton was commanded to administer the affairs of the freedmen. Saxton began to seek means to furnish education to blacks of all ages. Many teachers and missionaries were secured from the North and transportation and boarding were furnished by the Government; upon their arrival, schools were immediately established.

At Port Royal, the first experiment with free labor as an educational activity for blacks was tried. All cotton in the fields was picked by blacks. They were remunerated at a rate of one dollar for every hundred pounds of cotton picked. This was the beginning of an experiment that gradually spread to other parts of the occupied Confederacy during the Civil War.

Elizabeth Pearson speaks to the extensive and intensive mass adult education carried on for blacks at Port Royal:

> In other aspects also the Port Royal experiences established precedents for the transformation of chattels into free men, soldiers and citizens. The first regiment of freed slaves was recruited on the islands. The sale of land once owned by slaveholders to the former slaves was first carried on there. The education of the freedmen was undertaken more intensively on the islands than anywhere else during the War. The first experience of former slaves in the process of voting took place at Beaufort when the Sea Islands elected delegates, including four black men, to the Republican National Convention in 1864.[14]

The strategies utilized by the Government and benevolent groups to encourage the total freedom of the black man, in all walks of life, at Port Royal, South Carolina, may well represent one of the initial and most significant mass adult education efforts ever attempted.

B. UNION ARMY AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENT

Blacks were denied entry into the Union Army during its first year; that denial was supported by President Lincoln. James McPherson explores this issue in his book entitled, The Negro's Civil War:

> In the first year of the War, many Northern blacks offered their services to the Union Government as soldiers. But the Government and the Northern people considered it a "white man's war" and refused to accept the offers. Nevertheless, black leaders continued to urge the necessity of enrolling black troops. They believed that if the black man proved his patriotism and courage on the field of battle, the nation would be morally obligated to grant him first-class citizenship. As Frederick Douglas put it, "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States."[15]
>
> Lincoln summed up both types of opposition to black enlistment in two public statements. On August 4, 1862, an Indiana delegation offered the Government two regiments of black men from their state, but the President declined the offer. "To arm the Negroes," he said, "would turn 50,000 bayonets from the loyal border states against us that were for us." Six weeks later, Lincoln told another delegation that "If we were to arm Negroes, I fear that in a few weeks that arms would be in the hands of rebels.[16]

Congress passed two acts on July 17, 1862, which enabled blacks to become employees of the Union Army. The two were the Confiscation Act and the Militia Act. The former empowered the President to employ as many men of African descent as deemed necessary. The letter authorized the employment of free blacks as soldiers.

To the dismay of many Northern whites, on August 25, 1862, General Rufus Saxton, Military Governor of the South Carolina Sea Islands, was commanded to train five regiments of black troops.

Upon assuming their responsibilities as soldiers and employees of the Union Army, blacks encountered numerous blatant discriminatory practices. They were frequently assigned to disproportionate amount of heavy labor. A much greater dilemma was created resulting from the discrepancy in pay received by black and white soldiers. The Militia Act of July 17, 1862 permitted blacks to be paid $10.00 per month, of which $3.00 could be deducted for clothing. In contrast, white privates were paid $13.00 per month plus a clothing allowance of $3.50.[17]

Blacks protested this decision with Frederick Douglass, the most outspoken against the inequality of pay.. Douglass later recalled that Lincoln replied in the following manner:

> The employment of black troops at all was a great gain to the black people -- that the measure could not have been successfully adopted at the beginning of the war, that the wisdom of making black men soldiers was still doubted -- that their enlistments was an offense to popular prejudice . . . that the fact that they were not to receive the same pay as white soldiers seemed a necessary concession to smooth the way to their employment at all as soldiers, but that ultimately they would receive the same.[18]

It was not until June 15, 1864, that Congress enacted legislation which granted equal pay to black soldiers.

The Union Army became a type of school for the freedmen who joined as soldiers and for those who flocked into its lines. Schooling that black soldiers received while in Federal service was in general the result of interested officers. The desire by black Americans for the rudiments of education was well known prior to the acceptance of blacks as soldiers. Black men could be seen around campfires at night, with or without assistance, spelling out a primer.[19] Military officers often took time to instruct their men. Officers' wives, as well as chaplains, provided education. Many chaplains assisted the black man in this struggle to attain education, economic stability, and social equality.

In view of the desire for education by black soldiers and especially in view of the practical advantages of literacy, it was hardly surprising to discover in the knapsacks of dead black soldiers a speller and a Testament.

Joseph T. Wilson, a black soldier, recorded this of fellow black soldiers:

> Unlettered themselves . . . became daily more and more impressed, through their military association, and by contact with things that required knowledge, with the necessity of having an education. Each soldier felt that but for his literacy he might be a sergeant, company clerk, or quartermaster, and not a few, that if educated, they might be lieutenants and captains. This was not an unusual conclusion for a brave soldier to arrive at when men no braver than himself were promoted for bravery.[20]

During the Civil War many Northern newspapers carried accounts of how blacks availed themselves of educational opportunities made available by their regiments:

> One very good feature in this regiment is the organization of schools. Each company is organized into a separate school, which is taught by teachers hired for that purpose from the North. They are paid by a voluntary contribution from the soldiers of from fifty cents to one dollar per capita each month. The soldiers evince great interest in their books, which they take out on picket with them. They are under excellent discipline, and like military service very much.[21]

The Free Academy of Chesnut Street was established in the fall of 1863 by Thomas Webster to accommodate Pennsylvania's black regiment. The objective of this academy was to give instruction in infantry, army regulations, mathematics, geography, and history.

Many black soldiers were aided greatly in the traumatic transition from being a slave to becoming independent and responsible citizens by this education provided by Union chaplains, officers, and other concerned individuals.

Many chaplains took the lead in expressing the need for blacks to attain an education if they were to be elevated to responsible citizenship. While tactics were diversified, almost invaribly emphasis was placed on the need for elevation through education. Although many chaplains demonstrated their altruism and concern for blacks, several are worth mentioning. Chaplain A. B. Fuller of the 16th Massachusetts Infantry gave religious and secular instruction through Sunday School for blacks. This undertaking took place in the vicinity of Warrenton, Virginia, during his regiment's encampment autumn, 1862.[22]

A hospital chaplain, William K. Talbot, taught blacks confined to his hospital, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his regular assignment.[23] Despite the difficulties encountered, Chaplain William Eaton of the 12th United States black troops maintained a school for men of his regiment.[24]

Those examples alluded to indicate the general nature of the efforts by Union chaplains, officers, and other concerned individuals in the education of blacks and their optimism regarding the beneficent effect of education upon blacks. Many black adults were aided greatly by the educational opportunities accorded them through their association with the Union Army.

C. LAND GRANT COLLEGES

The first Morrill Act was enacted by Congress on July 2, 1862. It granted 30,000 acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress to each state.[25]

> All money derived from the sale of these lands was to be invested in securities bearing interest at not less than

> 5 per cent except that the legislature of the state might authorize the use of not more than 10 per cent of capital for the purchase of sites for the college or experimental farm. The interest was to be used for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object should be to teach such branches of learning to young adults, as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.[26]

Under the aegis of the first Morrill Act it was legitimate to purchase apparatus such as machinery, textbooks, reference boiks, and materials which were to be utilized in giving instruction and pay for instructional salaries in disciplines designated by Land Grant Act. The Act prohibited the use of revenue for the purchase, erection, or restoration of any building or the salaries of persons primarily employed to function as administrators such as presidents, secretaries, and treasurers.[27]

This Act made it possible for all states to erect an institution for instruction in agriculture and mechanics. Disparity occurred in the utilization of these funds since the Act made no attempt to ensure equal financial appropriation along racial lines. Notwithstanding this fault, shortly after the Civil War three states allocated funds in support of the establishment of institutions for the black population. Mississippi gave three-fifths of its 1871 scrip, which totaled $188,928, to Alcorn University and the remaining two-fifths to the University of Mississippi. Both were designated as land grant institutions for the state of Mississippi. Determining that the amount appropriated for Alcorn was greater than its needs, the legislature in 1874 transferred the Federal fund to another black school by the name of Oxford University. Federal funds were returned to Alcorn in 1878 with its name changed to Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.[28]

After much debate, the legislature granted one-half or its scrip, which totaled $285,000, to Hampton Institute. This institution was designated as the black land grant college for the State of Virginia.

South Carolina was the third state to establish a black Land Grant institution. The Federal Government granted to that state in 1872 a scrip totaling $191,800. The black-controlled reconstruction legislature granted this fund to Claflin University which was established and maintained by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1874 money received from taxation was used to restore the Land Grant endowment of which half was to be received by Chaflin and half by a white land grant college.

D. FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

Amid all the excitement and anxiety by benevolent individuals and organizations in their endeavor to assist the black man in his education,

a need arose for centralizing these efforts. Lack of a systematic, centralized administration was perceived by many as a definite hindrance to acquiring maximum productivity from concerned individuals and organizations. This task was too great for private agencies, thus, it was required that the Federal Government provide assistance.

A bill was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives to establish a Bureau of Emancipation in the War Department. This gesture occurred 12 days after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln. Although it was widely felt that such an organization had merit, many persons were in opposition to its creation. Opposers argued that its functions were too revolutionary and that it would open a path for corruption, abuse, animosity, and pugnacious behavior among its endorsers and implementers. In addition, many supporters of the freedmen argued that such governmental expression of special consideration and preferential treatment would actually retard the freedmen's endeavor to acquire independence.

After considerable deliberation and strong opposition, on March 3, 1865, a bill was passed by both houses of Congress and signed by President Lincoln to establish the Freedmen's Bureau. The Bureau was established as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands which was attached to the War Department and was maintained by the same Department until several years after the close of the Civil War. It was responsible for supervising and managing all abandoned land and black refugees. Education of blacks became one its primary purposes.[29] Ultimately the Bureau became the central administration and guardian of all other benevolent organizations which was intially envisaged as one of the purposes during the conceptualization stages. The Bureau embraced a six-fold program; i.e.,

(1) distributing rations and medical supplies,
(2) establishing schools and aiding benevolent associations,
(3) regulating labor contracts,
(4) taking care of confiscated lands,
(5) administering justice in cases where blacks were concerned, and
(6) the payment of rewards to soldiers.[30]

The Bureau did not receive funds for education until July 16, 1866, at which time Congress, over the veto of President Johnson, enacted a Supplementary Freedmen's Bureau Act. This Act stated:

> That the commissioner shall at all times cooperate with private benevolent agencies of citizens in aid of freedmen and shall hire or provide by lease buildings for purpose of education whenever such association shall without cost to the Government provide suitable teachers and means of instruction, and he shall furnish such protection as may be recruited for the safe conduct of such schools.[31]

> Further the commissioner of this bureau shall have power to seize, hold, use, lease or sell all buildings and tenements and to use the same or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people.[32]

The Freedmen's Bureau was directed in its early stage by two individuals: General Oliver O. Howard and J. W. Alvord. They functioned in the positions of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and the General Superintendent of Education, respectively. The Superintendent of Education's duties entailed the acquisition of pertinent educational infomation, serve as a catalyst and facilitator in the conceptualization and development of new schools, secure living quarters for new teachers, and generally give overall direction to the entire program. In March, 1867, Congress appropriated $500,000 for the restoration and construction of educational facilities and asylums.[33]

Day and night schools were opened during the four seasons of the year under the aegis of the Bureau. The educational institutions established by the Bureau varied in shape, size, content, and areas of specialization. Existing schools included sabbath, industrial and college institutions, of which the curricula covered educational content from mere rudimentary to sophisticated technical skills. Educational activities were carried on in the shade of trees, barns, barracks, courthouses, churches, basements, homes, or almost any available spot.[34]

It appeared that there was an altruistic aura throughout the North in behalf of the black man. His welfare as a future independent productive citizen was of grave concern to a large number of whites who left their homes to live and work with them. The Freedmen's Bureau served as a central clearing house to harmonize efforts and to present duplication. The Bureau encouraged wise utilization of resources and provided material aid to benevolent individuals and organizations. Material aid in which the Bureau engaged centered aroung housing arrangements for persons and organizations involved in educational activities. It also made confiscated buildings available for occupation of schools, teachers, wives and soldiers on duty with the Bureau, and refugees.[35]

It was reported by John W. Alvord in 1870 that there were 149,581 blacks attending schools under the tutelage of 3,300 teachers. The number of black teachers totaled 1,324, although initially almost all teachers were white.

It was reported that

> The typical freedmen's schools opened with prayer, scripture reading, and the singing of hymns and patriotic airs, such as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "John Brown," the school was usually in session from four to six hours divided equally between morning and afternoon. Many schools held

> night classes for adults. The teachers taught women to knit and sew. With all their emphasis on the three R's and upon practical skills, the Northern teachers never lost sight of the true aim of the entire movement the "Proper education of the freedmen." Teaching did, indeed, extend into the controversial fields of sociology and politics. In other words, blacks were taught to support the party of their friends through the ballot and to assume their place as the social and political equal of the Southern white man.[36]

It should not be assumed that the Northern organizations were the only cooperating agencies in the educational program of the Bureau. The freedmen themselves, the planters who hired them, and local friends and authorities gave additional assistance;[37] however, General Howard reported that while the Bureau had provided protection and transportation for teachers, instructional aids, and school builders, funds mainly came from benevolent associations from the North.[38] It's diffcult to discern the exact number of associations with which the Freedmen's Bureau cooperated, but a minimum of 79 have been reported.[39]

E. FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Inextricably interwoven into the total educational program by the Bureau was the concern for higher education. This concern was precipitated by two major factors. First, the continuing need for teachers in the freedmen's school existed. Numerous reports by the educational administrators speak to this issue which was viewed as a severe impediment to progress. White personnel from the North could not be recruited in large enough quantities to meet the need of staffing schools. Moreover, black teachers encountered less problems from the incumbent Southerners, in terms of resentment, than Northern white outsiders. Many Southerners, could not reconcile themselves to the presence of Northern white teachers. Therefore, the education of young black adults to eventually assume teacher roles was appropriate and desirable.[40]

Engrossed in the second factor is that when local government attempted to become involved in education for blacks, its efforts centered around elementary education. This allowed benevolent organizations to freely move in the direction of higher education.

The Bureau established a relatively consistent paradigm in its assistance to the development of schools. Prior to receiving funds, the association, philanthropic group, society, or independent board of trustees would confer with Bureau officials relative to a site. Upon approval they would make funds available for the building. To illustrate this pattern a few of these activities are mentioned.

The Freedmen's Bureau played a significant role in the founding of Howard University in Washington, D.C. It was named after the Bureau's Commissioner, General Oliver O. Howard. It was a favored project of the Commissioner and this project received $500,500 for its erection. This allocation made it possible for the trustees of the University to consumate a contract for the purchase of land as well as to build the first building for classes, two dormitories, and a medical building.[41]

The first building of Atlanta University was erected in 1867. Financial support for this project and transportation for teachers were paid for by the Freedmen's Bureau. Atlanta University received $52,410 from the Bureau during its first two years of existence.[42]

In 1866 Avery Institute, founded in Charleston, South Carolina, was awarded $17,000 by the Bureau to build on land purchased by the American Missionary Association.[43]

Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina which was Biddle Memorial Institute and Biddle University, respectively, received aid to the tune of $10,000 in 1867. This school was organized by the Presbyterians.[44]

Although Berea College was established prior to the Civil War, it received funds totaling $26,000 from the Bureau between 1867 and 1870.[44]

The Freedmen's Bureau in 1868 made available two brick buildings, one of which was formerly a Confederate gun factory, to Central Tennessee College which later became Walden University and eventually moved under the auspices of Meharry Medical College.

Fisk University was founded in 1866 as a high school for blacks in Nashville, Tennessee. The Freedmen's Bureau secured its first building which was a converted military hospital. Later the school was moved by the Bureau to a lot purchased by the American Missionary Association.[45]

Hampton Institute, much like Howard University, was a favored project of the Freedmen's Bureau. It received financial resources from the Bureau for initial building erection and permanent endowment. General Samuel Armstrong, the principal of the school, noted in 1870 that contributions by the Bureau in conjunction with Northern benefactors totaled approximately $100,000.[46]

In 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau awarded $5,000 to Lincoln Institute, currently Lincoln University, in Jefferson City, Missouri. This institution was established by funds alloted by the soldiers of the 62nd and 65th Black Regiments.

The Freedmen's Bureau aided the American Missionary Association in the acquisition of 34 acres of land and a pre-war brick building which was built by slaves as an exclusive school for boys. A total of this investment was $34,000.[47]

Other institutions which received substantial amounts of financial aid from the Bureau included Wilberforce University, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), Ballard Normal School, Claflin University, Lemoyne College, Knoxville College, Elizabeth City Normal School, Maryville Norman School, Swayne School, Emerson School, Stanton Normal School, Tougaloo College, The National Theological Institute, and St. Martin's Female Academy.

In 1869, General Oliver Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, reported that at least one institution for training young black adults to be teachers was established in each Southern state.[48]

Between 1860 and 1870 a question in vogue was whether or not the entire Freedmen's Bureau existed as a viable unit of the Federal Government. General Howard's administration was sharply criticized. Howard had been accused of becoming "rich" through his connection with the Freedmen's Bureau.[49] However, Howard was acquitted of all charges preferred against him.[50]

During the years 1871 and 1872, the work of the Bureau was limited to the remuneration of black soldiers for monies and rewards due them and the supervision of the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C. Relative to education, the Bureau only served in an advisory capacity. The work of the Bureau was almost suspended by March, 1872. Clerical and administrative personnel were terminated, local offices were closed and of payment of rewards and monies was suspended.[50]

On June 10, 1872, the Civil Expenses Allotment Act of the War Department was passed which terminated the operation of the Freedmen's Bureau and required that all payments and records be transferred to the War Department.[51]

The effectiveness of the Freedmen's Bureau and its contribution as an educational milestone cannot be evaluated without considering the interplay of the varied social, economic, and political influences.

For all intents and purposes, the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau was considered a humanitarian act to centralize and facilitate the effort by blacks to gain total freedom.

The first group sought to totally liberate the black man. Through formal and informal educational activities it was conceived by this class that blacks would eventually become economically independent and socially integrated into the larger society. Also this class was willing to accord extension of political rights and privileges to blacks.

The second element was the free and freed ambitious black men who aspired to the "good life." Not only was education sought by blacks as a means for self-survival, it was considered a safeguard against a return

to slavery. They endorsed the concept that an educated man possessed mental freedom and a stronger capability to prevent physical enslavement.

The third group, which consisted of the slave masters was the greatest impediment to blacks in their endeavor to increase their intellectual skills. Many native whites embraced the feeling of superiority in relation to blacks. This feeling characterized their behavior in that they advocated limited suffrage and education at public expense for blacks. This group considered that an unenlightened black would be more inclined to surrender to involuntary servitude.

F. FREEDMEN'S BANK

An Act of Congress on March 3, 1865, created the Freedmen's Bank and Trust Company. This Act was signed by President Lincoln on the same day he signed the Act which created the Freedmen's Bureau. This venture was considered by many as an educational tool to provide an entree for black adults into the business world.[52]

There seemed to be hope by everyone in the Freedmen's Savings Bank. The black soldier, the farmer, the laborer, the artisan, and maids flocked to this institution to deposit their savings. The intensity of the desire by blacks to save increased the deposits in the Freedmen's Bank in 1866 from $300,000 to $31,000,000 in 1872, and 55-million dollars in 1874.[53]

The main objective of the bank was to educate black adults in the area of business and to encourage blacks in the acquisition of property. During the period from 1866 to 1871 34 branches were established of which 32 were in Southern states.[54]

The establishment of the Freedmen's Bank was encouraged by the need for depositories for the savings of black soldiers and free laborers.[55]

In the early stages, blacks were not placed in positions of authority. This trend did not begin to change until around 1870. In Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., the advisory councils and boards of trustees included black representation from black business men and property holders. Many blacks were employed as clerks, tellers and bookkeepers at the central office as well as a number of branches. This educational enterprise also focused on training black personnel in all areas of banking in order that they might eventually take complete charge of the bank. This training resulted in the development of a nucleus of blacks with competitive skills in business.[56]

The Freedmen's Bank was referred to by General O. Howard as the "best adult educational institution" he knew. Thousands of blacks acquired and utilized the habits of thrift.[57]

Although the Freedmen's Bank and the Freedmen's Bureau were separate institutions, John W. Alvord, Superintendent of Schools in the Bureau was first secretary and later president of the Bank. Since he held offices in both institutions, he used each office to support the other. At the request of Alvord, General Howard recommended the bank to officials of the Freedmen's Bureau. Howard's endorsement of the bank was printed on each depositor's passbook. This was construed by many blacks as meaning that these two institutions were the same.

In 1872, at which time the Bureau was withdrawn from the South, the bank was suffering financially and in 1874 it collapsed completely. During the same year Frederick Douglass was appointed to the presidency by acclamation to salvage an insolvent condition. He was considered for the position because of his influence and prestige but to no avail.

Immediately after the failure, Commissioners were hired to look after the interest of depositors, but instead of being altruistic with respect to blacks who had invested their life-long earnings, through chicanery, they took the remaining money for themselves. It has been asserted that the major cause of the failure was from loose management by high officials at both the local and national levels. Freedmen felt that the United States Government was responsible for returning their money with interest. The paradox of this situation is that no action of any consequence took place.

Blacks were literally paralyzed upon hearing the first announcement of the bank's closure. Many who had deposited their life's earnings as well as invested in farms, dwellings in cities and towns lost everything. For many, this was their first and their last dealing with a bank. The disaster of the Freedmen's Bank was unequivocally a national calamity.

The most significant outcomes of the Freedmen's Bank venture was the development of a nucleus of blacks with business skills and the desire by blacks to determine their destiny. Within a decade and a half after the failure of the Freedmen's Bank, black leadership was asserted in the organization of fraternal insurance societies and banks owned and managed by blacks.

V. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES AND NORMAL SCHOOLS

During slavery blacks were introduced to education in the American environment through industrial training on the plantation. Many plantations were microcosmic. They were self-sustaining in the sense that the food consumed, clothing worn, tools used, and houses inhabited were all produced by black artisans. Slave masters made it possible for numerous blacks to become skilled craftsmen through an apprenticeship system, although blacks had little to say about the type of craftsmen they would become.

It was not long before the increasing number of black artisans became exceedingly large. Blacks monopolized most of the crafts and trades in the South. Northern blacks were usually excluded from craftsmen jobs at the behest of white artisans for fear of being displaced.

Although there were stringent laws in most Southern states prohibiting the teaching of reading and writing blacks, the teaching of industrial skills through apprenticeship programs was more acceptable by Southern whites. Harsh restrictive laws against the teaching of reading and writing to blacks had been effective since the Denmark Vessey and Nat Turner slave uprising, 1822 and 1831, respectively. Prior to and during the Civil War, Southern whites continued to overlook the apprenticeship on-the-job type education provided black adults which they acquired through engaging in work in factories, cotton mills, forges, foundries, military iron mines, and other governmental and private agencies. Despite the fact that many slave masters received lucrative profits from the labor of their trained slaves, the threat of a rebellion was omnipresent throughout the South.

> It did not escape the view of some thoughtful persons in the South that training the black slave as an artisan and a mechanic was utterly unfitting him for slavery. In urban and rural communities where slavery existed, the slave mechanics were the leaders in black life. Traning in the mechanic arts taught them to think and to depend upon their own resources.[58]

An Arkansas law provided in the Revised Statute of February 23, 1839, speaks directly to the prohibition against the teaching of blacks to read and write:

> In lieu of education the master of any free black apprentice shall be required to give any male free black apprentice, on arriving at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of $150 and to any female apprentice the following property, or the value there of in money; one bed, to be worth $12, and one suit of clothes to be worth $15; to be paid when said apprentice shall arrive at the age of eighteen years.[59]

During the Civil War, southern plantation systems gradually began to break down because of the demand for slave masters to go to war. A great number of blacks were utilized in the Confederate Army. They occupied positions such as cooks, hospital attendants, ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, and wagoners. On the railroad they repaired bridges, and tracks, and served as brakemen, conductors, and engineers.[60]

Following the Civil War, America was faced with a great dilemma which centered around whether blacks should receive "classical education" or

"industrial education."[61] Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe were advocates of industrial schools. Stowe's perception of an industrial school was that it should include a series of workshops, enabling blacks to acquire skills in the usuage of iron, wood, and leather, and skills in English usuage.[62]

Southern whites who were desirous of permitting blacks to get an education favored industrial education because this type of education was perceived as making blacks better servants and laborers. General Armstrong, former principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, favored industrial education. He wanted to see the skilled black artisan tradition continued that existed during slavery.[63]

In contrast, the New England school teachers who basically constituted the population of teachers for blacks after emancipation, favored the "three R's" at the elementary level, with Latin, Greek, and geometry coming into play at the secondary and college level.[64] Practically all apprenticeship programs ceased to exist after the Civil War.

This situation encouraged the development of more extensive industrial education programs in higher education in order that black partakers would be competitive.

There were five incentives for individuals who favored and developed industrial schools for the blacks after the Civil War:

> (1) the giving of financial aid to those students who were working their way through school, which many considered an excellent moral tonic; (2) using students' labor to reduce the expenses of maintaining the school; (3) training females for housework; (4) teaching blacks for future self-support; (5) learning by doing things to clarify ideas, to furnish physical exercise, and to aid the mental processes.[65]

By and large geographical locations dictated the type of offering each black industrial school would have.

> The few Northern industrial schools for young black adults train principally for city occupations, but the Southern schools are bending every effort to discourage their pupils from seeking city employment. The leaders of the race believe that the future welfare of the black man depends upon his ownership of farm land and the intelligent cultivation of it. Thus the teaching of agriculture and the rural trades is the leading feature of black vocational schools. Those students who intend to live on farms are given in addition to agriculture,

> instruction in the trades to the extent of making them independent of outside help in conducting their farms. Those who intend to follow a trade are given full instruction in that and allied trades, enabling them to go directly into the industry as journeyman without apprenticeship.[66]

The major purpose in this section of this document is to identify and describe a representative group of universities, colleges, and normal schools that provided industrial education primarily for young black adults during the period from 1860 to 1880. Many persons have considered Hampton Institute as the most influential industrial school during this period. Hampton's influence was not measured by the size of the student population, its graduates, or its teachers, but by the number of Southern colleges and universities that chose to replicate its program. Hampton convincingly demonstrated to the nation that work and study could go hand-in-hand and that an industrially oriented school could be successfully operated.[67]

A. PENN NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, ST. HELENA ISLAND, S. C.

Relative to Black History, the Sea Islands of South Carolina have been considered pioneers in a number of adult education programs. St. Helena Island is not an exception. It was one of the first Southern communities in which blacks owned their own land and homes and earned money for their labor. The Union Army forced many Southern plantation owners to abandon their property to which many never returned. Therefore, the Government sold much of the abandoned land and homes to blacks. It was reported that in 1867 there were approximately 2,000 black landowners on the Island. This island had opened a school for blacks as early as 1864. Miss Laura M. Towne was a teacher on the island and later founded the Penn Normal and Industrial School.[68]

Miss Towne arrived at St. Helena Island on April 15, 1862, employed as a Union Army nurse. She came from Philadelphia where she had received her training as a nurse. Immediately becoming cognizant of the need by the newly emancipated blacks to acquire an education, teaching became one of her added duties. Later she was accompanied in this task of educating blacks by her close friend, Miss Ellen Murry.[69]

The Penn School was opened as Penn Normal and Industrial School, and was erected in honor of William Penn, Men of the institution assisted in the erection of this building under the direction of an instructor who had learned the trade of carpentry during slavery.

Instruction in all areas that were deemed necessary for blacks to live a successful life was provided to pupils and their parents. Instruction encouraged blacks in the area of gardening, wholesome dietary preparation of food, health care, basketry, and numerous other areas of homemaking.[70]

Students undertaking the curriculum that embraced blacksmith, wheelwright, and carpentry, received their instruction by repairing community projects. Students were also permitted to engage in reparation of personal possessions during class hours. Shoes of students enrolled in the school were repaired by cobblers in the shoeshop. The overall curriculm was designed to combine shop work or physical activities with academics.[71]

B. HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURE INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.

The development of Hampton Institute of Virginia was considered a favored project of General Samuel Armstrong. On April 1, 1868, this institution was opened under the aegis of the American Missionary Association. Its clientele consisted of one matron, a teacher and 15 pupils; however, later during the same month the student population increased to 30 young adults. Hampton was characterized as the institution that empitomized the embracement of the concept of interlocking manual work with academics. Instruction for male students was farm oriented, and housework oriented for females. Students worked two days per week and attended classes the remaining four. Credit received went toward payment of their school expenses.[72]

General Armstrong's perception of the advantage of manual work at Hampton was threefold:

(1) In its moral aspect, it strengthened the will, thus inculcating a sense of self-reliance and independence, relieved labor from the odium which slavery had cast upon it in the minds of blacks. kept strongly sensual temperaments out of mischief, and instilled habits of regularity.

(2) It was a means whereby the pupils might earn the education that should fit them to be teachers and leaders and earn it, so far as possible, by their own work.

(3) It was a means whereby the student might learn while in the school how to support himself after graduation by the work of his hands as well as by his brains, thus affording an example of industry to his people.[73]

Armstrong further defined the overall aim of Hampton:

To train selected yojng black adults who shall go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and home; to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; and to these ends, to build up an industrial system for the sake of character.[74]

In order to matriculate at this institution a minimum age of 17 years was required, as well as receipt of a passing mark on the entrance examination which covered arithmetic, English, and geography. Fees incurred

were: admission $20.00, boarding $10.00 per month and full tuition $100.00 per year. Many concessions were made and scholarships given in order to accommodate needy students.[75]

C. SCHOFIELD NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, AIKEN, S.C.

Martha Schofield, a Quaker from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was the entrepreneur in the establishment of Schofield Normal and Industrial School. She had come to the Sea Islands of South Carolina to serve in the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1868 she became ill with malaria after she had arrived in the inland town of Aiken, S.C. Blacks who gathered around her bedside with a strong desire to learn were given instruction in the rudiments of education. This represented the beginning of Schofield Normal and Industrial School which eventually became one of the most influential institutions for blacks in the South.[76]

This school initially held sessions in a small rented farm building but later gravitated to two substantially larger brick buildings and two frame facilities in Aiken. It was reported that every state in the Union contributed to the endowment that supported this institution.[77] This school owned 281 acres of farm land located near Aiken.[78]

The aim of the Schofield Normal and Industrial School was stated as:

> The result of a need for an institution to train blacks to meet the problems and conditions of life they have to confront, and to make them better fitted to meet the duties that will come to them as parents or citizens. In our school blacks receive thorough training and industrial education, ways and means that fit them to take up the duties of everyday life.[78]

The only admission requirement was good character. Students who lived too far to commute utilized the school's boarding facility.[78]

The School's curriculm offered blacksmith, harness making, shoemaking, and printing. The entire student population was required to take an industrial course or work on the farm. It took students ten years to complete the school's course, of which four years were devoted in part to specialized industrial work.[79] A specialized industrial course was four years in length, however if students failed to complete requirements during this period of time they were usually granted an extension.

D. LINCOLN INSTITUTE, JEFFERSON CITY, MO.

The establishment of Lincoln Institute was made possible by ambitious black soldiers of the 62nd United States Black Infantry stationed at Fort McIntosh, Texas. They initially donated $5,000, of which $1,034 came from their officers. A majority of these men were inhabitants of Missouri.

The soldiers had major input in terms of establishing the School's purpose:

1. The institution shall be designed for the special benefit of the freed blacks.
2. It shall be located in the State of Missouri.
3. Its fundamental aim shall be to continue study and labor.[80]

The industrial department aimed to offer young men an opportunity to receive instruction in mechanic arts and to acquire skill in trades. All course work included academic as well as industrial subjects. All males in academics were required to take industrial education courses, while special courses were made available to those persons that were desirous of specializing in skilled mechanics.[81]

This section has concerned the industrial education that was primarily for young black adults in the United States between 1860 and 1880. There were several attempts made by free blacks in the North to establish industrial schools in that section of the country but none of them materialized to a significant degree. Apprenticeship programs in the North were practically closed to black people. Schools mentioned in this section, through their industrial education program, attempted to provide employment for blacks while in school and to develop skilled black artisans.

VI. BLACK PRESS AND BLACK CONVENTIONS AS EDUCATIONAL AGENTS

The role that national, state, and local black conventions played in the development of America has been overlooked in many ways. The convention movement began around 1830 and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. They were composed of black leaders of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers.[82]

It appeared that conventions were held for every conceivable purpose at the local level. It was in these settings that blacks called for justice and demanded an end to discriminatory practices by developing strategies to cope with injustices. As the significance or intensity of an issue increased at the local level, blacks might call for a state or national convention. Local conventions were usually less formal and attracted participants mostly from intellectual or religious groups. Whenever financial resources permitted, delegates were sent to state and

national conventions, in many cases only to represent parochial concerns. Concerns and decisions embarked upon in conventions other than at the local level may not cover a cross section of regions, but might serve the interest of a few specific localities. If such a situation occurred, the value of the convention was not ruled futile, but it usually served effectively as a propaganda agency for the promotion of the causes for which it was initiated.

Devoted to mass education of blacks, conventions used a variety of adult education methods and techniques for making their ideas known; e.g., debate on the assembly floor, public lecture, large and small group discussion, and petitioning the state legislature and Congress. By these methods and techniques the public was made throughly aware of the issues involved.

The dynamics of these conventions were always positive in the sense that blacks expressed themselves freely, an action which would have been curtailed in biracial assemblies. The existence of separate black conventions was deemed a necessity by blacks if their goals were to be accomplished. The position that had been taken was continually reinforced by several factors. In the North, prejudice against persons of African decent seemed to be on the increase in the mid 1870's. Competition for jobs were aggravated by the influx of European immigrants concurrent with the migration of large numbers of blacks from the South. Usually blacks were discriminated against in their scramble for livelihood in the crowded city ghettos. Prejudice and discriminatory acts were encouraged to a great degree by the theory that blacks were inferior and were socially unacceptable in a predominantly Caucasian America. Biracial cooperation was almost nil.

The second major factor that contributed to the development of separate black conventions was the need for self-expression. In addition to an increase in number of free blacks, accomplished largely through manumission in the South and legal emancipation in the North, a concomitant advantage was the ability to move around freely.

The third factor which influenced blacks to develop separate conventions was the inadequate safeguard by free blacks from being enslaved. Overall, blacks had many abuses that they desired to correct and felt the most appropriate approach was to do it alone.

> The national convention met twelve times before the end of the Civil War. The free black felt that there were certain things which were more specifically applicable to him than other Americans; he chose naturally to pay attention to those needs. Emanating from these national conventions was the repeated reminder that slavery still tarnished the image of a Christian democratic nation; that those blacks who were free in all too many cases only nominally free; that the nation judged a man not by his capabilities but by the color of his skin.[83]

> During the entire era there was seldom a national conclave that did not preach the value of temperance, morality, education, economy, and self help. They asked not for special consideration but for equality of opportunity to practice the skills acquired through that education or training. They wanted the right to bear witness in court and they wanted access to the jury box. They insisted that freedom of the body without full and unrestricted suffrage would leave the black man half slave and only half free. The last National Convention before the end of the Civil War was in Syracuse on the eve of the presidential election in 1864. That meeting left no doubt of a united black front with a determination to see that they would no longer be excluded from the advantages of liberty and democracy. By that time full citizenship, including suffrage, had become the dominant issue, for without suffrage there was no assurance of redress of grievance.[83]

> Prior to the Civil War, these conventions were held only in the North, because such gatherings of blacks in the South were prohibited. But with the end of the War, this institution was carried to the South and during reconstruction such conventions of black people were common occurrences.[84]

The important role that newspapers played in disseminating information is described by Martin Dann:

> Black newspapers printed information on such subjects as farming, business practices, household hints, and meeting of local interest. At the same time, the editors displayed a growing wariness of the white community. When the South tried to improve the black codes in 1865 as de facto reenslavement, the press resisted and argued stremuosly, but in vain, for its rights as black Americans. For a brief period in the late 1860's and early 1870's, it seemed that black people might be given a chance. But hopes were crushed when Hayes, in order to win his election in 1876 to the Presidency, promised the white southern leader that he would not interfere with their attempts to surpress the black population. Yet a growing mistrust of the North and then Federal Government, the black community remained loyal to the Republican Party under which they had achieved "emancipation."[84]

Throughout the history of the black press, it brought to the black community an awareness of the existence of oppressive conditions, while also emphasizing the success attained by blacks. Black newspapers urged the black community to become self-reliant and determine their own destiny by continually striving for progress. Blacks who attained credentials in the areas of law, medicine, education, and skilled trades became the

central theme in many papers. The contribution that the black press made on blacks mentally was invaluable. The papers instilled in blacks a sense of progress which was desperately needed to fight the blatant racism that confronted them.

There were only two black newspapers established during the period of the Civil War. First, The Colored Citizen which was published in Cincinnati, Ohio, by John P. Sampson. This paper made its way to many black soldiers and was commonly known as the "Soldiers' Organ." It ceased publication during the latter part of 1865.[85]

The second paper, The Elevator, was established in San Francisco, Calif., April 8, 1865, and published by Philip Bell. Bell had been connected with the field of journalism for 20 years. During these years of experience, he developed excellent journalism skills. The Elevator was always neatly printed and contained diversified content on subjects such as science, art, literature, and drama. Bell encouraged advertisements which could be purchased at 60 cents for an initial and 25 cents for each subsequent insertion.[85]

At the close of the Civil War, black journalism took a new direction. Although free blacks had published and dispatched newspapers for approximately 40 years prior to emancipation, the circulation of these papers to members of their own race was limited. After emancipation the concept of viewing black newspapers as a tool for educating the masses of blacks was endorsed by publishers.

The first significant development following emancipation was the establishment of black newspapers in the South. In Augusta, Georgia in 1865 the first black newspaper was published entitled The Colored American.[86]

The following statement will speak to the characterization of this paper:

> The Colored American is designed to be a vehicle for the diffusion of Religious, Political and General Intelligence. It will be devoted to the promotion of harmony and good-will between the whites and blacks of the South, and untiring in its advocacy of Industry and Education among all classes; but particularly the class most in need of our agency. Accepting, at all Assemblies, and bowing to majesty of law, it will fearlessly demonstrate against legal constitutional proscription by appeal to the public sense of justice.[87]

A number of black newspapers developed in all areas below the "Mason Dixon line" after the beginning of journalism in the South. The Colored Tennessean and The True Communicator of Baltimore were two of the most noted. Many had short tenure while others frequently changed hands and names and existed for a number of years.

In 1868, The Charleston Leader was founded in Charleston, S. C. In 1870, James L. Spellman and John Lynch began The Colored Citizen in Mississippi, while P. B. S. Pinchback published The New Orleans Louisianian. Pinchback became Governor of Louisiana in 1873, the only black ever to hold that position.[88]

During the period 1865 to 1880, approximately 30 black newspapers were published in 21 states. These papers were edited with a great deal of proficiency and were the products of some of the greatest black minds in America.[88]

TABLE III. BLACK NEWSPAPERS THAT WERE IN OPERATION BETWEEN 1860 AND 1880[89]

Name of Paper	Location	Date Founded
The Advance	Montgomery, Ala.	1877
American-Citizen	Baltimore Md.	1879
American Sentinal	Petersburg, Va.	1880
Arkansas Dispatch	Little Rock, Ark.	1880
Arkansas Freedman	Little Rock, Ark.	1869
Athens Blade	Athens, Ga.	1879
Black Republican	New Orleans, La.	1865
Bulletin	Louisville, Ky.	1879
California Eagle	Los Angeles, Calif.	1879
Charlestown Journal	Charlestown, S.C.	1866
Colored American	Augusta, Ga.	1865
Colored Citizen	Topeka, Kan.	1878
Colored Citizen	Cincinnati, O.	1863
Colored Tennessean	Nashville. Tenn.	1866
Commoner	Washington, D. C.	1875
Conservator	Chicago, Ill.	1878
Echo	Savannah, Ga.	1879
Elevator	San Francisco, Calif.	1865
Freedman's Chronicle	Hartford, Conn.	1873
Georgetown Planet Weekly	Georgetown, S.C.	1873
Globe	New York, N.Y.	1880
Huntsville Gazette	Huntsville, Ala.	1872
Loyal Georgian	Augusta, Ga.	1866
Missionary Record	Charleston, S.C.	1871
Negro Gazette	New Orleans, La.	1872
Negro Watchman	Montgomery, Ala.	1874
New National Era	Washington, D.C.	1869
New York Age	New York, N.Y.	1880
Ohio Falls Express	Louisville, Ky.	1878
People's Advocate	Washington, D.C.	1876
Progress	Helena, Ark.	1880
Savannah Tribune	Savannah, Ga.	1875
Savannah Weekly Echo	Savannah, Ga.	1879
South Carolina Leader	Charleston, S.C.	1865

TABLE III. -- Continued

Name of Paper	Location	Date Founded
Topeka Call	Topeka, Kan.	1880
Topeka Tribune	Topeka, Kan.	1880
La Tribune de La Nouvelle-Orleans	New Orleans, La.	1864
Union	New Orleans, La.	1862
Virginia Star	Richmond Va.	1877
Watchman	Memphis, Tenn.	1878
Weekly Louisianian	New Orleans, La.	1870

Concurrent with the founding of newspapers in the post Civil War era, many pamphlets and Church newspapers were developed. One can say without a doubt that the activities of the press during this period played an extremely important part in the education of the black race. Although many blacks acquired skills in reading newspaper, there were still large numbers dependent upon oral transmission. Subsequent to hearing or reading the content of the paper, an individual would spread the news.[90]

The history of the black press and convention as they relate to what was then America's greatest racial minority, is a history of thought as well as action. They functioned almost exclusively to educate the black masses in light of their own problems and their relationship to white America.

VII. ANALYSIS

A. FINDINGS

Identified during the course of this study were a number of activities which met the definition of adult education proposed by Cyril O. Houle:

> The process of which men and women (alone or in groups, or in intellectual settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skills, their knowledge, or their sensitiveness. Any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways.[91]

Within the purview of this definition the following adult education activities for the black man were identified: (1) apprenticeship training on farms, in factories, in private and state schools, and universities; (2) military, religious, rudimentary, and medical instruction by officials of the Union Army; (3) economic, religious, rudimentary, and higher education supported by the Freedmen's Bureau and by black and white benevolent individuals and societies; (4) mass education of blacks by the educative

use of newspapers, pamphlets, special black lectures, and by black conventions.

The result of this study tends to support Verner and Booth's contention that adult education tends to develop an answer to some social crisis or urgent need.[9]

B. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

1. To what extent did the black man assist in providing education for members of his race?

The greatest influence of blacks in the education of persons of his race was through religious denominations, black conventions, and the black press. The most influential black religious denominations were The African Methodist Episcopal Church, The African Methodist Zion Church, and The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The history of the black religious denominations in American is a story of a struggle against odds, resulting from poverty and economic discrimination. These groups demonstrated their desires to direct themselves by establishing and maintaining educational institutions and social organizations independent of the great parent bodies from which they sprang. It was mainly unfair treatment by the parent bodies and the desire for independence and self-control that accounted for the existence of black denominations.

2. Who were the individuals, societies, and commissions that provided education for the black adult?

During the period 1860-1880, the Union Army, Northern benevolent societies and denominational bodies, the black church, the Freedmen's Bureau, foreign organizations, and individuals such as General Oliver O. Howard, Frederick Douglass, General S. C. Armstrong, and J. W. Alvord engaged in emergency measures in an attempt to extend educational opportunities to blacks. From these initial efforts, there emerged schools engaged in providing the rudiments of learning as well as higher education to the blacks of all ages.

3. What were the methods of instruction utilized by those individuals, societies, and commissions?

It was discovered that methods of instruction utilized by individuals, societies, and commissions to educate blacks can be placed in one or more of the following categories:

a. Apprenticeship or on-the-job training

This method of instruction was greatly used by plantation owners to increase the value of slaves; the Freedmen's Bank to train tellers,

clerks, bookkeepers, and blacks to ultimately take over the complete operation of the bank; and Union and Confederate Army and industry for physical and economic support of the Civil War. Increasingly, blacks came to be trained and employed by the military as cooks, wagoners, ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, and hospital attendants. Apprentice-trained blacks were utilized in great numbers by the railroads as brakemen, conductors, and engineers. Blacks were also trained for jobs in the manufacture of gunpowder, rifles, and heavy ordnance.

b. Rudimentary instruction or three R's, social and political

The typical freedmen's school opened with prayer, scripture reading, and singing of hymns and patriotic songs such as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "John Brown." The school was usually in session from four to six hours, divided equally between morning and afternoon. Many schools also held night classes. The teachers taught women to knit and to sew. With all their emphasis upon the three R's and upon practical skills, the Northern teachers never lost sight of the true aim of the entire movement - "proper education of the freedmen." In other words, teaching did extend into the controversial fields of sociology and politics. They were taught to support their political allies by the use of the ballot.

c. Free labor

At Port Royal, South Carolina, the first experiment with free labor was tried. The freedmen were put to work in fields to pick and bale cotton. They were paid at the rate of one dollar per hundred pounds, an experiment in freedom for the 10,000 slaves who had worked the long staple cotton plantation on the South Carolina Sea Islands. The Port Royal experience aimed to assist the black man in his attempt to develop into an independent productive citizen.

d. Mass education

The black conventions included the participation of leading black men of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers. It was at the conventions that strategies were developed to demand reform and justice and it was in the black press that procedures and proceedings were printed. Not only did they seek to present a consensus of the black community, but they were the basis of an organized political response to American racism and were considerably effective in uniting the black population. Black newspapers and pamphlets were crucial factors in bringing leaders together and in disseminating information about these meetings.

e. Socialization and underground tutorial instruction

Many slaves believed that education was the most important element to their uplift, and they used all the opportunities to become literate

that the informal system afforded them. A house servant learned through distinguishing among the different newspapers his master ordered him to select, and slaves who served as foremen had to learn enough to keep a daily record. As the spread of antislavery literature among the slaves grew more threatening, the official camp of the plantation order fought back, but the practice of teaching slaves to read and write merely moved underground. Frederick Douglass kept crumbs of bread with which he bribed hungry white boys into giving him lessons from Webster's Spelling Book. Douglass later became a famous lecturer and abolitionist.

4. To what extent did the groups in opposition to the education of blacks succeed?

Despite the sporadic efforts by benevolent individuals and groups to enlighten the black man, there had always been at work certain reactionary forces which impeded their intellectual progress. Many citizens opposed their education on the ground that their mental improvement was inconsistent with their position as persons held to service. The teaching of slaves to read and write, from 1860 through 1880, was strictly forbidden by law in many states.

Considering that there were many exceptions, there was in general a complete divergence of opinion between the North and South on the subject of education of blacks at the close of the Civil War. As expressed by the missionary bodies of the Freedmen's Bureau, Northerners favored the education of blacks. They felt it a moral as well as a Christian obligation to do whatever possible to totally enlighten the black man.

The South on the other hand held mixed views on the subject, which were generally opposed to those held by the Northern philanthropists and the Freedmen's Bureau. The less intelligent whites opposed any kind of education for blacks because they themselves lacked education. Second, the elite whites in the South generally favored education for blacks, but believed that the educational curriculm should be determined by the Southern white people.

Strong opposition to the education of the black man became organized with the inception of the Ku Klux Klan. This organization was used as an instrument of terrorism designed to frighten blacks and compel them to renounce their political power and to frighten Northerners who were supportive of the educational and political efforts of the black man. Murder, whipping, and other acts of violence were the intimidation tactics used by this organization.

A post Civil War residual force from the Union Army remained in the South until 1877 to protect the black man and his supporters. Immediately upon the troops' removal, the educational and political disenfranchisement process began.

Schools established for blacks immediately began to feel the effects of the wave of anti-black sentiment released by the President's Reconstruction policy and the Black Codes. The wave gradually spread through the various branches of government and involved a great portion of the public so as to seriously hamper the entire educational program.

5. What were the political, social, and economic reasons that generated efforts toward education of the black man and its discontinuation?

Education cannot be considered without reference to the social, economic, and political movements in the larger world of which it forms a part. Social experiment and change do not generally occur independently but are converned with the same human materials as the economic and political movements. Education skills and habits are not on a separate plan from the business of life but must be integrated in the more complete program of human betterment.

For the most part, Northerners felt that they had a moral obligation to ensure that blacks received social, political, and economic equality.

In the first year of the War, many Northern blacks offered their services to the Union government as soldiers. But the government and the Northern people considered it a "white man's war" and refused to accept the offers. However, after considerable deliberation and discovering that it was economically and politically beneficial, Congress in 1862 passed two acts providing for the enlistment of black soldiers.

In an effort to save the Republican Party, Union troops were removed from the South by President Rutherford B. Hayes. Amnesty was granted to the Confederate States to gain Republican votes in national elections. The black man was betrayed by his party and murdered by the opponents of his party. Some blacks, of course, made significant strides during reconstruction, 1867-1878. The great mass of them, however, remained impoverished, with only their labor to sell under disadvantaged conditions.

6. What types of adult education curricula did the institutions of higher education provide for the black man?

During the early years, many schools designated as colleges were concerned chiefly with the teaching of elementary, secondary, and industrial education to young adults. Manual work and academics was a vital part of all institutions of higher education. Manual labor was required of all students, for the sake of discipline, instruction, and the defrayal of expenses.

Generally, Northern supporters embraced the philosophy of academic education for blacks, whereas Southern supporters endorsed vocational, industrial education.

7. Was there a national systematic effort to enlighten the black man? What was the attitude of the government?

During the period from 1860-1880, there was not a national systematic effort to educate the black man. However, for social, economic, political, and moral reasons, many Northerners can be credited with some success in attempting to educate the black man. The federal government made provisions for their education through the Union Army, Freedmen's Bureau, and the Freedmen's Bank, which have already been discussed. The government also made provision for the education of blacks through the First Morill Act of 1862. This act granted to each state 30,000 acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress.

This act authorized the purchase of apparatus, machinery, textbooks, reference books, and materials used for the purpose of instructions; and for the payment of salaries of instructors in the branches of learning specified by the land-grant act.

Unfortunately the Act did not provide for a division of federal funds on racial lines. As a result of this omission, the funds received were, in most cases, used for the development of those colleges from which blacks were excluded. Shortly after the Civil War, only three states, Mississippi, Virginia, and South Carolina, set aside a portion of the funds for the support land-grant colleges to serve the black population.

8. What role did the agricultural societies play in the education of black men?

A number of the black institutions of higher education and the Port Royal experiment had agricultural oriented curricula. However, the investigator found no evidence of agricultural societies.

9. Were there educational activities provided for the physically handicapped black man such as the deaf, mute, and blind?

The investigator was unable to find any substantial evidence to support the notion that education was provided for the physically handicapped black adult. One can assume that the educational efforts were directed, in large, toward the "normal" black or that this represents an oversight by historians.

10. What types of mass education were provided; e.g., newspapers, pamphlets, and conventions?

The black convention movement began in 1830 and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. These conventions were composed of leading black men of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers. This accounts for the importance of black papers by the conventions and their sponsorship of them.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The general theme of Black History in America between 1860 and 1880 was "Freedom and Education." These two elements were viewed as most significant for the uplift of black men. It is extremely diffcult to set a proper estimate upon the role of the educational efforts of black and white philanthropic organizations, the Union and Confederate Army, individuals and private organizations, and mass media. Overall, these organizations touched every area of the lives of black men. These organizations cared for their physical needs by issuing food and relief. They furnished hospital care for the infirm and insane, and established shelter for the aged and orphans. Attempts were also made to regulate labor conditions and they acted in behalf of the black man in matters involving civil and legal rights; but within the total effort, educational activities received the major share of attention and of finance.

Although there were some noteworthy exceptions, the former planters and slave-owners worked as a group in direct opposition to the plan to educate blacks. Even while using some of the facilities and services of the Freedmen's Bureau to further their own purposes, opposition to the actual existence of the Bureau remained. The presence of the Bureau, supported by Union soldiers was looked upon as unwarranted invasion and oppression, reducing the area to the status of conquered province occupied by a victorious army. And its opposition and resentment against the Bureau, the apparent goals of the educational activities seemed the most objectionable element.

The hostility to the education of the blacks by teachers from the North did not seem to have been part of any general pattern of resentment. The reaction to Northern men who came South to engage in business was not hostile - many Northerners worked there with impunity and success. Northern capital and enterprise were welcomed, but the education activities were opposed as radical propaganda for social equality and as an ulterior scheme to control the vote of the blacks.

The behavior of Northern whites toward the black man during this period was paternalistic and missionary in nature. Doubts still remain as to how sincere this group was about the notion that "black should be socially and politically equal to whites." Ultimately these two supposedly opposing groups (Northern whites and Southern whites) joined forces in the attempt to continually keep the black man in a subordinate position.

Amnesty was granted Southern states and the residual Union troops were removed from the South, thus providing the opportunity for the South to enact Black Codes. These collaborative gestures may well represent the efforts by the North and South to further suppress the black man.

However, the most sustaining benefit of these organizations during this period of time was the inception of a large number of black

institutions of higher learning. The belief by many whites that blacks were inferior and that education would make them no longer content, emanated from prejudice and racism. The failure of authorities to develop a national systematic scheme to ensure that blacks would receive education continuously has contributed to the race polarization which faces us today.

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APPENDIX

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
1945 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

STUDENT FIELD EXPERIENCE OFFICE
150 Arps Hall

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I am attempting to do a study entitled " Adult Education for the Black Man During the Ante Bellum, Civil War and Reconstruction Period, 1860-1880----- An Historical Study of the Types." The need for this kind of research appears to be great. Today the position of Afro-American history as an important segment of American history has become established. Without being exposed to a complete history neither black students nor white students are educated for the realities of life.

The results of this study will bring additional knowledge to the field of adult education and to education in general. Educators will be provided with a useful supplementary tool which may assist them in organizing the past, curriculum development, conceptualization and administration of adult basic education programs.

In order to gather authentic data, inquiries are being sent to institutions and agencies requesting information related to the above title. I would appreciate receiving any information and/or suggestions concerning this study. Your consideration would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Leo McGee

Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student
Field Experience

LM:lw

A.M.A. ARCHIVES
NO. H5418
FISK UNIV.

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MONTHLY REPORT.

Monthly Report of School taught by Susan A. Swift
in Beaufort S. C. for the month of September 1864

Name or designation of the School. Home School

Location of the School. In my own house Beaufort S.C.

When established,

Its teacher, or teachers. S. A. Swift.

No. of days kept	24
No. of sessions	24
No. of different pupils	2
Largest No. present at any session	2
Average attendance for the month	2
Whole No. of Males	0
Whole No. of Females	2
No. over 16 years of age	2
No. under 6 years of age	0
No. of pupils who read and spell	1
No. who study mental arithmetic	2
No. who pursue written arithmetic	0
No. who study geography	0
No. who write	1
Is singing taught in school?	
Do the mulattoes show any more capacity than the blacks?	
No. of whites	
No. who attend to needlework	

Each teacher will make out duplicate monthly reports, sign, and return one to me, 61 John Street, New York, on or before the third of the succeeding month. All the blanks should be filled, giving approximate returns, if exact ones cannot be obtained. For evening schools the first line may be left blank.

State the general progress of the school for the month, the chief obstacles encountered any cases of insubordination that have occured, and the method of disposing of them, with such suggestions as may have a bearing upon the welfare of the school; and any encouragement given to the work, by persons, or societies, on the ground.

When any teaching is done for or among the soldiers, please embody the facts in a separate item of the report.

G. WHIPPLE, *Secretary.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Teacher's Monthly Report.

We wish to gain such knowledge of the labors of our teachers and the condition of our schools as the following statistics faithfully and *continuously* reported, will give. As such statistics are valuable only as they *are* faithfully and conscientiously given, we trust that our wishes will be implicitly regarded, and every blank correctly filled. A faithful discharge of our responsibilities to our patrons demands that we obtain this information, and we trust that no teacher will regard our inquiries as either invidious or inquisitorial.

For Month of November 1865

Name Martha E. Clary

Name of School Primary School *Location* Hilton Head, Mitchelville

No. of days the school was kept during the month, Eight (being established Nov. 21)

No. of days you have been present, Eight

If absent, the number of days None and the cause,

If you have been absent, during the month, any of the school hours, state the number, None

and the cause,

No. of different pupils, One hundred twenty-five

Average daily attendance One hundred and eight

No. of tardinesses, * Most one third of daily attendance tardy

No. neither absent nor tardy during the month. None

Whole No. of Males. Fifty-five

Whole No. of Females, Seventy.

No. over 16 years of age, Five

No. of Pupils who read and spell, None

No. who study mental arithmetic, None

No. who study written arithmetic None

No. who study geography, None

No. who write, None

Is singing taught in the school? Yes.

No. of Sessions you have attended Night Schools None

" " " " " Sabbath Schools, Five

No. of visits made in the families of colored people. Sixteen

No. of Bibles distributed. None Of Testaments, None

No. of Books, None Tracts or Papers. None

A. M. A. ARCHIVES NOH5825 FISK UNIV.

Each teacher should, without fail, make out duplicate copies of the above Report and transmit one directly to us, and the other to the local Superintendent (if there be one)† on or before the 3d of the succeeding month.

In addition to the above statistics, we desire a written Report giving general and particular facts concerning the general progress of the school, the *chief obstacles encountered, cases of insubordination, the mode of administering discipline* and any suggestions that may indicate its prosperity.

*The roll should be called ten minutes after the opening of the School, or earlier (never later) if the teacher so elect. A School Register will be furnished to teachers.

†If there be no local Superintendent, a blank for a Superintendent's Report will be furnished, which the teacher will be expected to fill.

Note—Returns should be sent to the Superintendent at these Rooms

GEO. WHIPPLE, } Gen. Sec's
M. E. STRIEBY, }
SAMUEL HUNT, *Sup't of Education.*

A. M. A. ARCHIVES
No. H 5430
FISK UNIV.

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CERTIFICATE OF COMMISSION.

Rooms of the American Missionary Association.

No. 61 John Street.

New York, Oct. 26th 1864

This Certifies,

That the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

has appointed Mr. George H. King

a Missionary teacher to the Freedmen in

South Carolina

and hereby commend him to the favor and confidence of the officers of Government, and of all persons who take an interest in relieving the condition of the Freedmen, or in promoting their intellectual, moral and religious instruction.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the

American Missionary Association,

Geo. Whipple
M. E. Strieby. } Secretaries.

N.A.A. ARCHIVES
No. H.5834
FISK UNIV.

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November Report

Report of J. J. Wright for the month of November 1866.
Regimental School Section.—
Camp Stanton Largest number
in attendance at one time 134.
No. of days School open 20.
Average attendance 91. No of
sessions each day two. School
at Paris Island open but 12 days
for the month. Largest number
present at one time 31, Average
attendance 22. All can read,
and the majority write.

Jonathan J. Wright

A.M.A. ARCHIVES
NO. H5294
FISK UNIV.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Beaufort S. C. Dec 5th 1865.

Rev. H. Hunt:

Dear Brother,

Will you please have sent to my address monthly a package of 100 copies of "The Freedman" for the use of my Sabbath School? Also if you please, send ten (10) packages of Sam's Primers. I desire them for the use of my evening School & for the Comrades of my regiment who have been to Greensville, the Primers of which Companies have been taught. Please send the price of books per Express & charge the same to me.

Nothing but remaining yours as ever in the work.

Jerome J. Wright.

A. M. A. ARCHIVES
NO. H 5018
FISK UNIV.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Beaufort SC June 24. 1863

I certify that Miss Fowler has for the last seven months taught a colored School in this Dept with great success and I cordially recommend her to the Boston Newyork and Philadelphia Freedmen's Educational Societies as a suitable person for a teacher

R Saxton
Brig Genl
Mil Gov
Dept of South

An exact copy of the original

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Beaufort, South Carolina
June 24 1863

I Certify that Miss Fowler has for the last seven months taught a colored school in this District with great success & I cordially recommend her to the Boston, New York & Philadelphia Freedmen's Educational Societies as a suitable person for a teacher

R Saxton
Brig. Gen.
Mil. Gov. &c &c &c

A.M.A. ARCHIVES NO. H5568 FISK UNIV.

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Headquarters Department of the South,

CHIEF MUSTERING AND DISBURSING OFFICE,

HILTON HEAD S. C., April 18 1866.

Majr Thompson
Provost Marshal Genl Dept
of the South.

Sir —

Will you please give Rev. James Lynch who has been a missionary in this Dep't for two years, an order for transportation North, free if possible. I cannot request too strongly this may be done, for I know of no man who has done more for the cause of freedom and one who deserves

M. S. Littlefield
1st Lieut. 54th Mass
Asst Dist.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Office Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Refugees,
Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands,
Montgomery Ala., Sept 26th 1865.

Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard
Commissioner Bureau R. F. & A. L.
Washington D. C.

General

I have
this honor to report that schools are in operation in
this State at Mobile and Montgomery. I append
a tabular statement of pupils &c.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant

Wager Swayne
Lieut. General
& Assistant Commissioner

Sept. 1st 1865	Whole number enrolled		Average daily attendance		Corporal punishments		Number of teachers		Average number of scholars	Amount of tuition collected
	White	Col'd	White	Col'd	White	Col'd	White	Col'd		
Montgomery	135	153	98	105	6	111			4	288	$ 50
Mobile	560	321	217	215	5	13	21	36	11	7	621	3 [illegible]
Total	695	474	315	320	11	24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	$ 53 [illegible]